Chapter

8

Nationalism and Ultranationalism during Times of Conflict

Edmund Burke was an Irish philosopher who served for many years in the British House of Commons. He is best known for his support of the American colonies leading up to the American Revolution and for his stand against the French Revolution. Speaking on the fate of the British Empire, he said:

> *I dread our own power and our own ambition; I dread our being too much dreaded … We may say that we shall not abuse this astonishing and hitherto unheard-of-power. But every other nation will think we shall abuse it. It is impossible but that, sooner or later, this state of things must produce a combination against us which may end in our ruin.*[1]

Based on Burke's quotation, what cautions does he have about Britain's pursuit of national interests? What possible consequence is he predicting for Britain?

Chapter Issue

In times of conflict, to what extent are nationalism and ultranationalism expressions of the pursuit of national interests?

In Chapter 7 you read about the complexities associated with nations pursuing their national interests. A nation's pursuit of national interests may compete with those of another nation. When the interests of a nation begin to interfere with other nations, these actions may lead to ultranationalism. *Ultranationalism* is an extreme form of nationalism, often involving extreme patriotism. Ultranationalism often causes conflicts and interferes with co-operation between nations.

In this chapter you will analyze nationalism and ultranationalism during times of conflict and consider the relationship between nationalism and ultranationalism. The following inquiry questions will be used to guide your exploration:

- How did nationalism influence the pursuit of Canadian national interests during the First and Second World Wars?

Figure 8-1

A postcard commemorating the contributions of the British colonies during the First World War.

1 Edmund Burke, "Remarks on the Policy of the Allies with Respect to France," in *The Works of Edmund Burke*, vol. 4 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1901), p. 457.

- How did ultranationalism develop in Germany as an extension or expression of national interests?
- What role did national interest play in the development of ultranationalism during the First and Second World Wars?

This chapter also supports your investigation of the Main Issue for Part 2 (chapters 6–10): ***To what extent should national interests be pursued?***

SKILL PATH

SP **Analyzing and Evaluating Historical Perspectives**

Analyzing Propaganda

The information that an individual receives can be inaccurate, biased, unreliable, or misleading.

Propaganda is the art of persuasion. It is the systematic effort to spread opinions or beliefs, often by distortion or deception. The information or viewpoints may not present two sides or multiple perspectives on a topic or issue. Propaganda appeals to emotion rather than reason, and may not examine evidence or may present false or unsupported statements not based upon factual evidence.

Experts in the art of propaganda use a variety of methods to spread a message, opinion, or belief. An example of a field that may use propaganda is advertising. Propaganda techniques often depend on errors in thinking, or *fallacies*. Some common propaganda techniques are:

- Bandwagon: convincing people to join a particular side because others are joining it as well
- Card stacking: only presenting information that is positive to an idea or proposal and omitting information contrary to it; sometimes called "selective omission"
- Glittering generalities: words that have different positive meaning for individual subjects, but are linked to highly valued concepts
- Name-calling: using derogatory words or language when describing an enemy in order to stimulate prejudice
- Plain folks: a technique by which someone tries to convince the public that his views reflect, and work to the benefit of, the common person
- Testimonial: quotations or endorsements that attempt to connect a famous or respected person with a product or item
- Transfer: an attempt to link two items in a person's mind, often by linking one of the items to something the person dislikes[2]

Other techniques of persuasion using misleading arguments include ethnocentricity, omission, overgeneralization, stereotyping, and appeals to emotion or the past.

Propaganda is used during times of war to inspire war efforts, raise morale, and discredit opponents or dishearten the enemy.

Step 1 **Collect Information**

Collect possible examples of propaganda, such as speeches, posters, billboards, TV advertisements, TV programs, movies, news stories, or articles.

Figure 8-2 shows a Canadian poster from the 1917 election. The Unionist Party was formed by the Conservatives asking the Liberals to join them in a united war effort against Germany. The leader of the Liberals, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, declined, although many of his Liberals did join the Unionists. The poster equates a vote for the Liberals with a vote for Germany.

Figure 8-3 shows more propaganda posters from the First World War.

2 From: http://library.thinkquest.org/C0111500/proptech.htm.

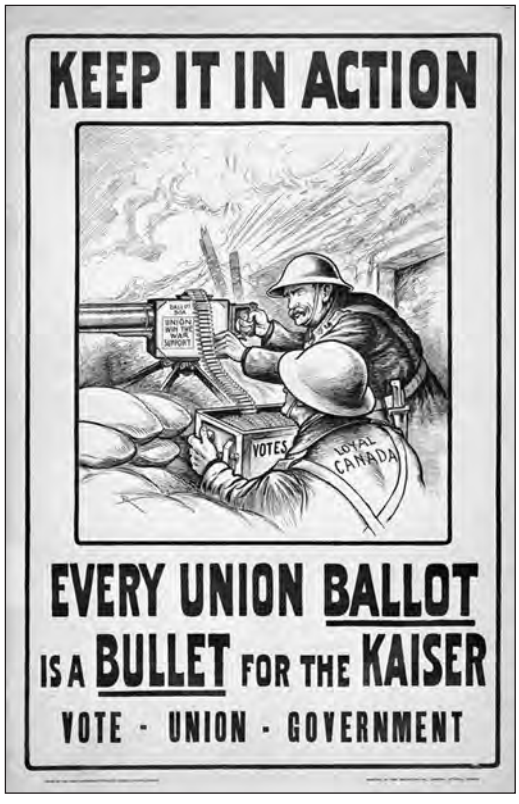

Figure 8-2

Unionist Party poster, 1917. Artist unknown.

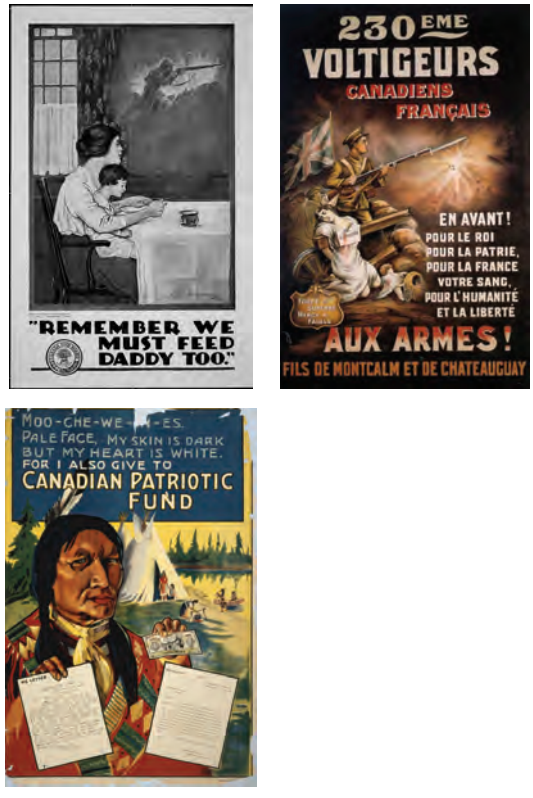

Figure 8-3

An assortment of First World War Canadian propaganda posters. The upper right poster is translated: 230th French Canadian Infantry / Forward! For the King for your country, for France your blood, for humanity and liberty / To your weapons! / Sons of Montcalm and of Châteauguay.

Step 2 **Analyze the Information**

Based on the evidence in each poster, answer the following:

- Audience: For whom was the poster intended?
- Context: What was the intent of the poster?
- Message: What ideas, values, and beliefs are being communicated?
- Technique: What propaganda techniques are used in the poster?

Step 3 **Evaluate the Information**

Assess the impact of these propaganda posters. What emotions or responses do the posters evoke in you? In what ways does this propaganda support nationalism? Ultranationalism? Explain.

Step 4 **Make a Decision on the Issue**

After examining the propaganda posters in Figure 8-3, write a short response to the Chapter Issue: ***In times of conflict, to what extent are nationalism and ultranationalism expressions of the pursuit of national interests?***

Using the 1917 Canadian election poster, write a position on the question: To what extent is propaganda a tool of nationalism during times of conflict?

Nationalism in Canada during the First and Second World Wars

Question for Inquiry

- **How did nationalism influence the pursuit of Canadian national interests during the First and Second World Wars?**

First World War Conscription Crisis

At the beginning of the 20th century, Canada was a young country, only 33 years old. In fact, residents of Canada were still considered subjects of Britain, not Canadian citizens. Canada's only previous involvement in an international conflict, the Boer War (1899–1902), occurred as a result of our close ties with Britain. When Britain declared war against Germany in 1914, as a member of the British Empire, Canada was automatically also at war. Prime Minister Borden declared it was Canada's duty to stand "shoulder to shoulder with Britain." After all, Borden added, "when Great Britain is at war, Canada is at war, and there is no difference at all."[3]

Early hopes of a quick victory changed as the war became a long-drawn-out series of deadly battles. By 1916, losses were so great among Canada's allies that Russia was near defeat and French soldiers were mutinying. Canada had promised to send 500 000 more soldiers to fight, despite there being only 1.5 million Canadian men of military age. The newly elected British government asked members of the Empire to provide new troops. With Australia providing more troops than Canada despite having a smaller population, Prime Minister Borden was convinced that he needed to create a system of conscription to increase the size of Canada's military.

Through a series of political actions, Borden pushed through the Military Service Act, which required men of military age to register and face possible conscription. Angrily rejected in Québec as pro-British and by western farmers who feared the loss of farm workers, the Act resulted in violence that marked Canada for decades.

Military Service Act, 1917

The Military Service Act, or conscription, aimed at enlisting 100 000 additional Canadian soldiers.

Fast Facts

Some First Nations communities opposed the attempted conscription of band members under the Military Service Act for the First World War. But many First Nations and Métis people voluntarily served in both world wars. Though they had to give up their status or treaty rights to do so, these veterans are proud to have served.

Pause and Reflect

Why was Borden determined to commit Canada to sending a large number of soldiers to war? Why might conscription be supported in Ontario and other parts of Canada? Why did conscription act as a divisive force rather than a unifying one in this time of war? Does the conscription disagreement indicate something about our national interests? Who decides, and how do they decide, what our national interests are?

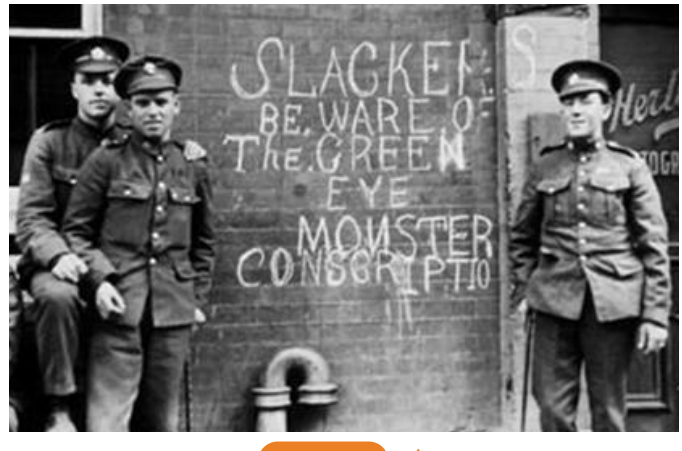

Figure 8-4

Soldiers standing by a sign denouncing men who do not enlist.

3 Histor!ca, "Peace and Conflict: The Conscription Crisis of 1917." http://www.histori.ca/peace/page.do?pageID=278.

Pause and Reflect

If you had been eligible for conscription in 1917, how would you have responded? Should the national interest become the interest of all citizens during a time of crisis?

To accomplish this, it required men of military age to register or face arrest. However, men who did register could seek exemptions.

From a military perspective, conscription was a success—it provided new soldiers by 1918, although only 24 000 of the conscripts actually fought. From a national unity perspective, the Military Service Act was destructive, emphasizing the divisions that existed between various segments of Canadian society.

Henri Bourassa on Conscription during the First World War

As the founder and editor of *Le Devoir*, Canada's most influential French-language newspaper, Henri Bourassa was an outspoken supporter of viewing Canada as a bicultural and bilingual state made up of two nations. Bourassa insisted that the idea of *deux nations* was the true spirit of Canada. His beliefs were challenged by Canada's involvement with Britain during the Boer War and by the conscription crisis, which he viewed as British imperialist actions. In a series of articles in *Le Devoir*, Bourasssa provided a Francophone voice in opposition to this imperialist alliance with Britain, which he saw as destructive.

In my article of September 8, 1914, while refuting the principles and consequences of imperial solidarity and a continuance of the nationalist doctrine … I pronounced myself in favour of the intervention of Canada, as a nation, for the defense of the higher interests which unite our country with France and England …

I had agreed to, within a reasonable time and in keeping with the country's conditions, Canada's free and independent intervention—free for the nation and free for individuals; but the government, all of Parliament, the politicians and the press in both camps have applied themselves to the systematic destruction of this freedom. "Volunteer" recruiting is being done by blackmail, intimidation, threats of all kinds. And above all, we have taken advantage of the emotions caused by the war to affirm, in an even more intense and intolerant form, the doctrine of imperial solidarity, which is being victoriously fought and rejected by the statesmen and the Canadian people as a whole.[4]

In another article, Bourassa wrote:

Weigh my words: for French Canadians, the advent of conscription would trigger a process that would soon transform what is now perhaps the most peaceful and most orderly people in the Americas into a revolutionary people. Once unleashed, this revolutionary spirit would rage not only against the military regime, but everywhere: in factories, in agriculture, in every area of industry, society and politics.[5]

1. Why did Bourassa change his view on Canadian involvement in the First World War?
2. According to Bourassa, how would a *nationalist* and an *imperialist* be defined at this time? Who would support the different ideas? Why?

4 "Reply from M. Bourassa to the Letter of Captain Talbot Papineau," *Le Devoir*, 5 August 1916. http://www.histori.ca/peace/page.do?subclassName=Document&pageID=307.

5 Henri Bourassa, "La Conscription," Montréal, Éditions du Devoir, 1917, p. 26, quoted in Richard, Béatrice, "Henri Bourassa and Conscription: Traitor or Saviour?" *Canadian Military Journal*, Winter 2006–2007, p. 77. http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/engraph/Vol7/no4/PDF/11-richard_e.pdf.

Second World War Conscription Crisis

Emerging from a global economic depression in the 1930s, Europe saw the rise of fascist dictators with expansionist goals while Canada became increasingly isolated from involvement with Europe. When German military actions finally provoked Britain to declare war in September 1939, Canada's government—led by William Lyon Mackenzie King, and in a show of sovereignty—did not automatically join the war. Instead, it waited a week before declaring war. During this week, the question of whether to declare war and to what extent Canada should participate in the war was debated in the House of Commons. Because of contributions made by the Commonwealth during the First World War, Britain had granted Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and others full independence through the Statute of Westminster in 1931. This statute allowed Canada to make its own decision regarding foreign actions such as war. To maintain national unity and keep his party in power, King's Liberals stated that they would not resort to conscription.

However, as the Second World War dragged on, it became apparent that Canada would need to increase its commitment. Few men joined the military as the economy boomed, with Canadian factories building weapons for the war. Faced with the need to increase the size of the military, King held a referendum on conscription—not on whether to actually have conscription, but on whether King could be released from his promise of no conscription. King's Liberals won a large majority and, by 1944, he was faced with the dilemma of how to increase the number of Canadian troops without dividing the country.

The Québec reaction to conscription can be seen in the tone of this statement by a group called *La Ligue pour le défense du Canada*, explaining why its members opposed conscription:

> *Because a small country of 11 million inhabitants cannot be, as it is claimed, the arsenal of the democracies and the allied nations, and at the same time, an inexhaustible reservoir of fighting men. Because Canada has already achieved and even surpassed the limit of its military effort. Because relatively speaking we have ready done at least as much as any of the major belligerents—Canada has no right, let alone obligation, to sabotage itself.*[6]

In 1940, with little opposition, King's government had passed the National Resources Mobilization Act, which provided troops for *home defence*: the defence of Canada. With no threat of invasion, these troops

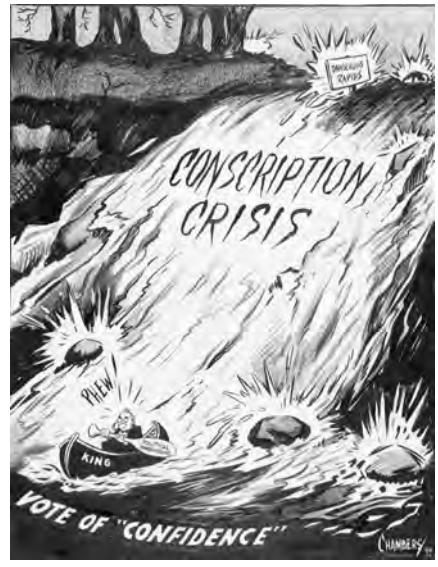

Figure 8-5 ▲

Mackenzie King in a canoe heading calmly down a waterfall, paddle in hand.

6 "Dodging a Political Bullet: Prime Minister Mackenzie King Shrewdly Avoids Conscription during the Dark Years of the Second World War." *Canada: A People's History*. http://history.cbc.ca/history/webdriver?MIval=EpisContent&series_id=1&episode_id=14&chapter_id=3&page_id=4&lang=E.Document&pageID=307.

did little and most had no real desire to fight. In 1944, however, high casualties among enlisted troops once again raised the fear of conscription. Instead of national conscription, King saw the home defence troops, or "Zombies," as a solution. A government order allowed Canada to send 16 000 Zombies overseas. After violent protests by these men, only about 13 000 were eventually sent to fight; few ever reached the battleground. Fortunately for King, the war ended soon and he survived Canada's second conscription crisis, even being re-elected with Francophone support.

Prime Minster King's Speech on Conscription

The plebiscite on conscription left a divided country and a divided Liberal Party. King set out to solve the problem by insisting the issue was still open. His approach could be summed up by his most memorable slogan, "Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary."

The following is from Mackenzie King's speech "National Security Plebiscite, April 7, 1942":

The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

The question of conscription, properly viewed, is a military question. The place to discuss it is in parliament. What the government now seeks for itself and for parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security.

A part of our forces should be kept in Canada to protect us against attack; a part of our forces should be sent overseas to help defeat the enemy and thus prevent him from attacking Canada. Both tasks are equally essential to our safety. Anyone who tells you that only one of these tasks is necessary is deceiving you. The government with the information which it alone possesses is in a position to decide where Canada's forces can be used to the greatest advantage in defending Canada, and in helping to defeat Germany and Japan, or how the armed forces required can best be raised. We do not ask the people to make that decision. But we believe the matter is so important that the government and parliament should be completely free to decide the question wholly on its merits.[7]

1. Was conscription in Canada during the Second World War necessary?
2. Should conscription ever be implemented in a democratic country?
3. Should nationalism be used as a tool to pursue national interests?

7 Willian Lyon Mackenzie King, "National Security Plebiscite, 7 April 1942." http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/on/laurier/edu/edud_e.asp#03.

Internment during the First World War

The decades prior to the First World War saw mass immigration of people to Canada. In charge of this immigration was Clifford Sifton, who envisioned a desirable immigrant to be "a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children."[8]

These "stalwart peasants" who were eagerly welcomed to Canada came not from Britain, but were mainly eastern European farmers. When the First World War began, Canada was home to many people from the countries with which it was now at war. By 1914, as many as 100 000 people of German, Austro-Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Turkish origin were living and working in Canada.

Wartime rumours of invasion and supposed acts of sabotage raised the level of public hostility toward the "enemies within" and forced the government to take action. The War Measures Act was passed, giving the government the power to arrest and detain anybody suspected of being an enemy in the name of defence, security, and order. *Enemy aliens*—people of German, Austrian, Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Turkish descent—in urban areas were forced to register with police, had to carry identification cards, and could not own a gun. The unemployed were sent to 24 internment camps across Canada, where they worked in farms, mines, lumber camps, and steel mills, and in developing national parks. By the time the camps closed in 1920, two years after the end of the war, 6 enemy aliens had been shot and over 100 had died of various diseases while interned.

In all, more than 8500 people were interned, including approximately 5000 Ukrainians. Internment was not equal for all, with class and culture playing an important role in determining treatment. Wealthy internees lived in relative luxury, with families and servants, while others struggled, earning 25 cents per day.

Public opinion played a significant role in justifying internment. Before the war there was resentment of the new immigrants, who were seen as taking the jobs of Canadians. The media created hysteria by portraying any accident as an act of sabotage. This hysteria resulted in government orders banning any publication in "enemy languages." As well, businesses were able to make up for labour shortages by using enemy aliens as low-cost workers.

War Measures Act, 1914

With the perceived threat of enemy aliens, Robert Borden's government created the War Measures Act, which gave the government the power

Figure 8-6 ▲

Ukrainians at the Spirit Lake internment camp in northern Québec, circa 1914–1920. While most of the interned were men, many women and children accompanied their husbands and family members to the camps as well. The internees ranged from citizens born in Canada to more recent immigrants.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

In what ways was nationalism or ultranationalism a factor in the internment program? What national interests were served by this program?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Should the War Measures Act have required the government to submit its proposals to Parliament for approval? What national interests are pursued through an act like the War Measures Act? To what extent are nationalism or ultranationalism factors in creating a War Measures Act?

8 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Forging Our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900–1977, "The Arrival of the Europeans." http://www.cic.gc.ca/EnGLIsh/resources/publications/legacy/chap-2a.asp.

to arrest and detain suspected subversives and dissidents. The wording of the Act was vague enough that the government had a wide range of powers and the ability to govern by decree when it perceived there to be a time of "war, invasion or insurrection, real or apprehended." *Governing by decree* meant that the government could simply pass orders and avoid the lengthy parliamentary process usually required to pass legislation.

The War Measures Act gave the federal cabinet any power it might ever need to preserve "the security, defence, peace, order, and welfare of Canada." This single, short law allowed for thousands of wartime regulations to preserve the security of Canada, including:

a) *Censorship and the control and suppression of publications, writings, maps, plans, photographs, communications and means of communication;*
b) *Arrest, detention, exclusion and deportation;*
c) *Control of the harbours, ports and territorial waters of Canada and the movements of vessels;*
d) *Transportation by land, air, or water and the control of the transport of persons and things;*
e) *Trading, exportation, importation, production and manufacture;*
f) *Appropriation, control, forfeiture and disposition of property and of the use thereof.*[9]

Internment of Ukrainians during the First World War

WWI Internment in Canada

Elizabeth Withey

The Edmonton Journal 25 August 2005

EDMONTON—Maksym Boyko was walking home from work in Ottawa in the autumn of 1914 when he was confronted by two police officers and promptly arrested.

The 42-year-old unmarried carpenter, who came to Canada from the Ukraine in 1911, had committed no crime. But he was a Ukrainian immigrant.

Boyko's personal effects, including his prized pocket watch and the $150 cash he had saved since arriving in Canada, were seized and he was interned at Camp Petawawa, Ont., where he was forced to build facilities for the army.

Boyko was one of more than 8 000 eastern Europeans, mainly Ukrainians, who were confined in internment camps across Canada—including some in Alberta—between 1914 and 1920 under the War Measures Act.

9 War Measures Act, 1914. http://www.infoukes.com/history/internment/war_measures_act.

Another 80 000 of these immigrants were not sent to camps, but were forced to report to police and had their liberties and movements restricted. Some were deported; others were stripped of their right to vote.

On Wednesday, Prime Minister Paul Martin signed an agreement recognizing Canada's historical wrongs committed against Ukrainian-Canadians during the First World War.

Maksym Boyko's son, Otto, a retired RCMP officer in Edmonton, is part of an Edmonton-based group of internee victims' descendants.

"We're still kind of angry, not only that it happened, but that the acknowledgement isn't there," Otto said. "If Dad had been a threat to the security of Canada, I would have no problem. But I do have problems with the seizure of his property—what little he had—and it not being returned." …

Otto remembers his father telling him about life in the camps. "He said it was very cold, the food was substandard and the guards were very rough. If (the internees) felt sick, they wouldn't get food for the day, so that was a way of getting them out to work."

Otto's father told him camp guards used racial slurs like 'bohunk' when they talked to the immigrant labourers. Some who tried to escape were shot; others died of disease or exposure. There are internee cemeteries in both Kapuskasing, Ont. and Spirit Lake.

In June 1916 Maksym was released from Spirit Lake (he had been transferred from Camp Petawawa) on the condition that he work in a steel mill in Hamilton. After the war ended, he moved to St. Catharines, then Saskatoon, where he married and raised a family. The carpenter's watch and money were not returned. The Canadian government auctioned off immigrants' confiscated possessions following the war.

Maksym died in 1948, at the age of 77, when Otto was only 12. The government still owed Maksym $24.61 for his labour.

Otto, now 69, said his father's treatment affected their entire family.

"I recall when the Second World War was on, he called the whole family together, and he said, 'If you see anybody come to the house that you don't recognize, you let us know right away,'" Otto said. "He was still concerned that the same thing might happen again."[10]

1. Should "enemy aliens" be forced to work and lose their property because of conflict? Why or why not?
2. Consider the War Measures Act of 1914 and the internment of Ukrainian immigrants. To what extent was the government detainment of Ukrainian immigrants in the national interests of Canada?

Internment during the Second World War

Like Ukrainian internment during the First World War, the reason for Japanese internment during the Second World War was complex and was motivated as much by fear of foreigners as by national defence. Already subject to racist acts by organizations such as the BC Asiatic Exclusion League and by government through a policy limiting Japanese immigration, the Japanese were easy targets for those promoting fear of invasion after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 and the defeat of British and Canadians defending Hong Kong from the Japanese.

On 22 September 1988, then prime minister Brian Mulroney made a formal government apology to Japanese-Canadians for the internment and authorized a compensation package for survivors. To hear the apology, follow the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website.

10 Elizabeth Withey, "WWI Internment in Canada," *The Edmonton Journal*, 25 August 2005. http://www.orangerevolution.us/blog/UkrainianDiasporaCanada/_archives/2005/8/26/1171015.html.

Pause and Reflect

How does the Order-in-Council reflect the pursuit of national interests in Canada? If "ultranationalism is an extreme form of nationalism often involving extreme patriotism," is the Order an act of nationalism? Ultranationalism? Explain.

The Order-in-Council

Pressured by western MPs, Prime Minister King announced the decision in 1942 to establish a 160-kilometre "safety zone" east of the Pacific Coast. On 24 February 1942, a secret Order-in-Council, P.C. 1486, gave the government the power to remove all people of Japanese descent, regardless of citizenship, from the safety zone. This meant that more than 22 000 people of Japanese ancestry, most of them born in Canada or naturalized Canadians, were forcibly moved "for their own safety." In addition, the order restricted the types of jobs that Japanese could hold, their means of communication, and with whom they could associate. It even denied them the right to own cameras, radios, and firearms. Once evacuations started, all property that the evacuees could not carry, including homes and businesses, was placed in government custody and subsequently sold off by the government.

Nearly 1000 Japanese-Canadian men were placed in enforced labour camps, another 700 were placed in prisoner-of-war camps, and over 12 000 were housed in detention camps in the interior of British Columbia. The remainder—mainly families who wished to stay together—were placed on farms or at sites outside of the protected areas with severe restrictions placed on their activities. Only about 700 suspicious people who protested too loudly were ever identified as a potential threat, but the civil liberties of all were suspended until four years after the war ended.

Joy Kogawa

Joy Nakayama Kogawa was only six years old when she and her family were transported to a camp in the interior of British Columbia. Already living in a society where racist acts were tolerated, Joy's family had all their possessions and property confiscated by the government. Government actions took her family from the mountains of BC to a camp on the prairies near Coaldale, in southern Alberta, where they worked on fields of sugar beet farms. Joy is now an acclaimed Canadian author and poet.

Excerpt from *Obasan*

We are sent to Siloam, the pool called 'sent.' We are sent to the sending, that we may bring sight. We are the scholarly and the illiterate, the envied and the ugly, the fierce and the docile. We are those pioneers who cleared the bush and the forest with our hands, the gardeners tending and attending the soil with our tenderness, the fishermen who are flung from the sea to flounder in the dust of the prairies. We are the Issei and the Nisei and the Sansei, the Japanese Canadians. We disappear into the future undemanding as dew.[11]

1. How was the loyalty of Japanese-Canadians to Canada challenged by the actions of the government?

"found poem"

uazusu shoji
who was twice wounded
while fighting with the princess pats
in w.w.1
had purchased nineteen acres of land
under the soldiers' settlement act
and established a chicken farm
his nineteen acres

a two-storied house
four chicken houses
an electric incubator
and 2,500 fowls
were sold for $1,492.59
after certain deductions
for taxes and sundries were made
mr. shoji received a cheque
for $39.32[12]

Pause and Reflect

To what extent was the use of internment by the Canadian government during the First and Second World Wars based on similar pursuits of national interest? To what extent was internment in both wars a result of nationalism or ultranationalism?

Explore the Issues

1. From Francophone perspectives, was the Military Service Act of 1917 perceived as an ultranationalist act of the Canadian government?
2. To what extent is conscripting soldiers nationalist or ultranationalist?
3. Were the internments within Canada during the First and Second World Wars acts of nationalism or ultranationalism? Were there issues or concerns that could have justified these actions on the part of the Canadian government? Why or why not?

11 Joy Kogawa, *Obasan*. (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1981) pp. 111–112.
12 Joy Kogawa, "Found Poem," in *Woman in the Woods* (Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 1985).

Development of Ultranationalism in Germany

Question for Inquiry

- **How did ultranationalism develop in Germany as an extension or expression of national interests?**

Many economic, social, and political factors led to the development of deep nationalistic feelings and the rise of Nazism in Germany.

German Unification and the First World War

Prior to 1867, a united German state did not exist. Once unification of the many German-speaking states did occur, they found themselves economically, technologically, and politically lagging behind the French and British, who had already established massive empires. Germany's lack of colonies seriously limited their ability to acquire resources for the rapid industrial growth they achieved after unification.

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 was the result of long-standing rivalries between France and the northern German states, disputes over which royal house should rule Spain, and an opportunity for Prussia to acquire territory and resources. Alsace-Lorraine, a French region on Germany's western border, was rich in coal and iron ore deposits and home to a thriving textiles industry. Germany defeated France and gained control of this region, but French nationalism remained strong in Alsace, as did an anti-German sentiment.

Pause and Reflect

How did conflict between France and Germany, and Britain and Germany, contribute to nationalistic feelings in Germany? How did the national interests of each of these countries act as an instigating factor in the First World War?

Germany experienced great economic growth, and by 1900 was an economic rival of Britain, surpassing it in many areas. As Britain's economic strength relied on its widespread empire, the British navy was key to economic success. Germany began to develop a naval force to rival Britain's navy, which was seen by the British as a direct challenge to their military and economic might. Britain's natural ally in this challenge was France, for whom controlling the growing power of Germany was an important national interest. Soon, alliances developed throughout Europe that saw two major power blocs evolve:

- the Triple Alliance—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy
- the Triple Entente—France, Britain, Russia

In Chapter 7 you saw that tensions in Europe escalated as each nation sought to promote its own interests.

- Britain sought to maintain its economic status.

- France was being surpassed economically by Germany, and feared Germany's growing power. In response, it made national security a primary interest.
- Russia was a growing industrial power but wanted to improve and modernize its economy and move into a position of influence around the Black Sea, the Balkan area.
- Germany wanted to build its military and assert its place in European politics.

As you read the following review of the events leading to the rise of Nazi Germany, keep in mind the Chapter Issue: ***In times of conflict, to what extent are nationalism and ultranationalism expressions of the pursuit of national interests?*** How were the actions of the nations involved expressions of their nationalism and their national interests?

The Treaty of Versailles and the Great Depression

After the long and devastating First World War, the Triple Entente was victorious. The Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and the resulting Treaty of Versailles allowed the victors to promote their national interests while hampering German development.

The French wanted to remove the threat of German military power from their border and, among other demands, wanted the return of Alsace-Lorraine. In addition, they wanted the area 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine River declared a demilitarized zone and occupied by Allied troops for 15 years. France also wanted financial compensation for the war. Not only had the war destroyed much of northern France, but when the Germans withdrew they flooded mines and destroyed railways. To compensate for this destruction, France was awarded the right to all coal mined in Germany's Saar Valley until 1935, and Germany was to provide over $33 billion in reparation payments to France. Within a year, Germany was already behind in its payments.

Britain wanted to ensure naval superiority and sought to limit the size of the German navy. Britain did not support France's demand for reparation, because if Germany were forced to make large payments, it would weaken the country and strengthen France. In the postwar era, Britain was concerned about the rising threat of Bolshevism in Russia and wanted to prevent a weakened Germany from falling under communist control.

The terms of the Treaty of Versailles were a serious blow to German pride and to the country's economy. One condition, Article 231, the war guilt clause, required Germany to accept sole responsibility for the war. Many politicians believed that Germany

Ideas and Opinions

"The Nazi Party Program stated in part:

- *We demand the union of all Germans into a greater Germany.*
- *We demand that Germany be treated in the same way as other countries and we demand the annulling of the Treaty of Versailles.*
- *We demand land for our growing population.*[13]"

—"The Program of the National-Socialist (Nazi) German Workers' Party"

Hitler and his party were an extreme option for most German citizens. How might the public perception of German national interests have led many German citizens to support the extreme nationalism of the Nazis?

13 From: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/naziprog.html.

Pause and Reflect

How did the peace treaties contribute to German nationalism? How did the Treaty of Versailles reflect the national interests of the victors?

would never be able to make its reparation payments, so they forced Germany to accept moral responsibility for the war. This clause, more than any other part of the Treaty, caused long-lasting resentment, humiliation, and anger within Germany. By 1923, reparations had such a devastating impact on the German economy that its currency became virtually worthless.

Within a few years of the end of the war, the German spirit was humbled and the economy was in a shambles. Claiming that Germany had defaulted on its deliveries of timber, France invaded the Ruhr Valley in 1923. The terms of the Treaty were intended to keep Germany weak, but instead they backfired. German nationalism was revived, and hostilities toward the French increased. The German people had had enough and began to look for a way to rise from the devastating impact of the war.

Just as Germany struggled with the impact of its reparation payments, the Western world was plunged into an economic depression triggered by the collapse of the stock market on 24 October 1929. During the Great Depression, left-wing parties gained power in Britain and extreme right-wing parties arose in Germany and Italy. Economic growth was halted by the Depression, and this gave fascist rulers justification for state control of the economy. Large public work programs not only rebuilt and made economies in Germany and Italy self-sufficient, but also rekindled national pride and reduced unemployment. Hydroelectric dams and highways were constructed, as were massive public buildings that restored a strong sense of nationalism.

Fast Facts

The Nazis promoted the idea of a *Volk* community, which meant that citizenship was characterized by blood, not by geographical borders. Members of the *Volk* were thought to be part of the superior Aryan race.

The Rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party

In Germany, Adolf Hitler and his Nazi Party received wide support for the changes they brought to the people and the nation. Hitler argued that Germany needed to regain its great status and promised to liberate Germany from the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Seeing the Treaty as the source of Germany's problems, Hitler pulled Germany out of the League of Nations and began rearming the military.

Hitler's expansionist policies were encouraged by the failure of the League of Nations to stop Japanese aggression in Manchuria in the early 1930s and Italy's aggression in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935–1936. A great Germany would require more land, so Hitler embarked on a policy of *Anschluss*, a union of Austria and Germany. Hitler coerced the Austrian government to legalize the Austrian Nazi Party, which eventually took power.

Pause and Reflect

What role did nationalism play in Hitler's rise to power? How did ultranationalism develop in Germany as an extension or expression of national interests?

Der Führer
versprach:
Motorisierung Deutschlands
1935
1932
104000 hergestellte Kraftfahrzeuge
33000 beschäftigte Arbeiter
295000000 RM. Gesamtumsatz
353.000 hergestellte Kraftfahrzeuge
über 100.000 beschäftigte Arbeiter
1.150.000000 RM. Gesamtumsatz
Der Führer gab: 250.000
arbeitslosen Volksgenossen
Arbeit und Brot
in der deutschen Auto-Industrie u. deren Lieferindustrien.
Der Führer schafft: den Volkswagen
„Ich lasse mit rücksichtsloser Entschlossenheit die Vorarbeiten zur Schaffung des deutschen Volkswagens durchführen und werde sie zum erfolgreichen Abschluß bringen."
Adolf Hitler am 15.2.1936.
Darum Deutsches Volk – danke dem Führer am 29. März
Gib ihm Deine Stimme!

Figure 8-7

This 1936 poster urges people to vote for Hitler by noting what he has done to promote automobile ownership in Germany. The caption reads: *The Führer promised to motorize Germany. In 1932, 104 000 motor vehicles were manufactured, 33 000 people were employed, and goods with a total value of 295 000 000 marks were produced. In 1935, 353 000 vehicles were manufactured, Over 100 000 people were employed, and the value of goods produced was 1 150 000 000 marks. The Führer gave 250 000 people's comrades jobs in the auto industry and its suppliers. German people: Thank the Führer on 29 March! Give him your vote!*

Is the poster an example of propaganda? Why or why not? Referring back to this chapter's Skill Path may help you form your response.

While the Nazis completely disregarded the Treaty of Versailles, Britain and France were mired in the Great Depression and had little interest or financial means to do anything to stop the growing Nazi power. In fact, some saw the right-wing Nazi Party as a way to counter the growth of the growing presence of communism in Germany. Political indecisiveness by Britain and France caused them to follow a policy of *appeasement*, according to which they did little to stop Nazi actions if they did not directly conflict with their interests. As a consequence, Hitler felt emboldened to annex the Sudetenland, then occupy the rest of Czechoslovakia in 1939, then turn his sights on Poland. Despite British threats and promises to support Poland, Hitler's invasion was quick and decisive, and met with no resistance from Britain. German nationalism soared as new territory populated with Germanic peoples became a reality.

Fast Facts

On 9 and 10 November 1938, in an event that became known as Kristallnacht, or "night of broken glass," Nazis burned down Jewish businesses and homes, and physically assaulted Jews. More than 600 synagogues were raided and close to 300 were set on fire, while hundreds of Jews were injured and 96 were killed. A total of 30 000 Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps. During the Second World War, the Nazis would kill an estimated 6 million Jews.

British Appeasement

Despite Nazi aggression, Britain and France pursued a policy of appeasement, hoping that Hitler would not provoke another war on European soil. In September 1938, when negotiations between Germany and Britain were strained, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain addressed the people of Britain and the House of Commons.

I can well understand the reasons why the Czech Government have felt unable to accept the terms which have been put before them in the German memorandum. Yet I believe after my talks with Herr Hitler that, if only time were allowed, it ought to be possible for the arrangements for transferring the territory that the Czech Government has agreed to give to Germany to be settled by agreement under conditions which would assure fair treatment to the population concerned …

However much we may sympathize with a small nation confronted by a big and powerful neighbour, we cannot in all circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in war simply on her account. If we have to fight it must be on larger issues than that. I am myself a man of peace to the depths of my soul. Armed conflict between nations is a nightmare to me; but if I were convinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force, I should feel that it must be resisted. Under such a domination life for people who believe in liberty would not be worth living; but war is a fearful thing, and we must be very clear, before we embark upon it, that it is really the great issues that are at stake, and that the call to risk everything in their defense, when all the consequences are weighed, is irresistible.

For the present I ask you to await as calmly as you can the events of the next few days. As long as war has not begun, there is always hope that it may be prevented, and you know that I am going to work for peace to the last moment. Good night.[14]

1. Contrast Hitler's pursuit of national interests with Britain's and France's pursuit of national interests.
2. According to Chamberlain, what were Britain's national interests at time?
3. To what extent was Chamberlain acting in the national interests of Britain at the time?
4. What role did ultranationalism play in empowering Hitler?

Explore the Issues

1. To what extent did the resolution of the First World War, nationalism, and the pursuit of national interests by France and Britain lead to the development of ultranationalism in Germany?
2. "Ultranationalism in Germany ultimately led to the Second World War." Do you agree or disagree? Justify your answer.
3. How did national interests in Germany lead to an increased nationalism in Germany? At what point did German nationalism become ultranationalism?

14 Neville Chamberlain, "In Search of Peace" (1939), p. 393; and Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons (London: HMSO, 1938) vol. 339, 12th vol. of session 1937–1938, pp. 361–369, 373.

Other Examples of Ultranationalism during the First and Second World Wars

Question for Inquiry

- **What role did national interest play in the development of ultranationalism during the First and Second World Wars?**

Ultranationalism in Japan

Historically, Japan has had a long tradition of strong nationalism. Nationalist pride allowed the Japanese to repel mainland armies throughout its history and even to expel foreigners from the island nation in 1639. However, closing itself from foreign influence meant that Japan missed the Industrial Revolution and much of the other modernization that the Western world experienced. During the Meiji Period from 1868 to 1912, the doors were opened to foreigners, new ideas flooded into Japan, and Japan industrialized rapidly. This created a demand for new resources to fuel growth. As a small island nation, however, Japan was resource poor.

Ideas and Opinions

> *State Shinto helped to suffuse the national mind with notions of a noble past rich in great traditions, a superior racial stock destined to endure as an eternal national family, and a matchless state headed by an unbroken, inviolable, divinely descended imperial dynasty.*
>
> **—Shinto scholar Dr. Genchi Kato, quoted in Philip Lee Ralph, "State Shinto and Japanese Nationalism," *World Civilizations*, 7th edition (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986), pp. 103–104.**

What parallels do you see between the doctrines of State Shinto and Nazism?

Japan sought to acquire resources by conquering new lands, Korea, its nearest neighbour, was an obvious choice due to its coal and iron resources and strategic location. In 1884, a group of pro-Japanese reformers attempted to overthrow the Korean government but were stopped by Chinese troops. Ten years later, a pro-Japanese Korean leader was assassinated by Chinese forces and his body displayed as a warning. The Japanese people were outraged and tension grew between the Japanese and Chinese governments, resulting in the declaration of the First Sino-Japanese War in August 1894. By April 1895, Japan declared victory over the Chinese, despite their smaller military forces. China agreed to pay a large indemnity and handed over Korea and Taiwan to Japan.

Fast Facts

Japanese militarism has a strong tradition in Japan, with a code of rules and proper behaviour known as *bushido*. Bushido, or "the way of the warrior," gained prominence in the Meiji period as a new slogan emerged urging people to "enrich the country, strengthen the military."

Fast Facts

In the mid-19th century, Shinto became the state religion of Japan. The idea that the emperor was a living god was used to promote unity, nationalism, and patriotism up to the end of the Second World War. State Shinto was used to justify the belief that Japan had a right to rule over other Asian peoples.

Pause and Reflect

How did the pursuit of Japan's national interests lead to an increased nationalism in Japan?

Ideas and Opinions

In 1901, Japanese Socialist leader Kōtoku Shūsui described the drawbacks to imperialism:

> *Imperialists in Japan and elsewhere are like drunken men, intoxicated by patriotism and militarism, which are nothing but expressions of their animal instincts. They bleed people white with taxes, expand armaments, divert productive capital for unproductive ends, cause prices to rise, and invite excessive imports. These are all for the sake of the state. Government, education, commerce, and industry are sacrificed to patriotism, which is the root of militarism and imperialism.*
>
> **—Quoted in Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion 1897–1911*.**[15]

How might nationalism give rise to imperialism? Explain.

Fast Facts

In December 1937, Japanese soldiers entered the Chinese city of Nanking, where 90 000 Chinese soldiers had surrendered. Over a six-week period, the Japanese army tortured and killed at least 260 000 Chinese soldiers and civilians. Between 20 000 and 80 000 Chinese females aged 8 to 70 were raped and then killed by Japanese soldiers.

Pause and Reflect

What evidence supports the contention that nationalism played a role in Japan's attempts to become a major world power?

With Japan's defeat of China and the decline of the Chinese Qing Dynasty, Russia began showing an interest in Korea and Manchuria. After a failed attempt at a diplomatic agreement with Russia, Japan surprised them by declaring war in February 1904. After a series of bloody battles known as the Russo-Japanese War, Japan was victorious over Russia and the war officially ended in September 1905. With the defeat of the Russians, Japan became the first Asian country to claim a major victory over a European one, thus establishing themselves as a major world power.

The First World War (1914–1918) allowed Japan to acquire most of Germany's Asian and Pacific colonies due to its alliance with Britain. During the war, Japan sent a list of demands to China that would give Japan significant economic and political power. At first, China refused, but when Japan threatened invasion China gave in and provided Japan with much of the resources needed to drive the Asian industrial giant. Soon, the need grew for a strong Japanese military to secure Japan's new empire and gain the respect of Western nations.

The end of the First World War brought about a slowing of Japanese production and a decline in the status of its military, which was seen by some as an unnecessary drain on public funds. Ultranationalist factions of the military still had a strong influence, and the civilian government had difficulty keeping the radicals in line. A new government came to power in 1928. Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Kaku Mori, who had strong ties with ultranationalist secret societies, urged interventionist policies in Manchuria and other parts of China. Weak governments, hampered by the devastation caused by the Great Depression (1929) and the resulting breakdown of international trade, could do little to prevent the secret societies from gaining power. This led to a brutal invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and of China in 1937. Although the emperor was seen to have power, it is likely that the real power lay in the hands of the military.

Soon after the 1937 invasion of China, Japan issued the Amau Doctrine, which stated that Japan assumed responsibility for peace in Asia. Parts of northern China were seen as an essential part of Japanese national existence. Eventually, in 1940, a plan for the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was announced and was used to justify imperialist expansion throughout Asia. Its ultranationalist intent was to establish a new international order that would align Asian countries with Japan, free of Western colonialism and domination. Slogans such as "Asia for Asians" became popular as Japan talked about liberating Asian countries from the rule of imperial powers.

15 Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897–1911* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) p. 5.

The defeat of Japan in the Second World War (1939–1945) resulted in a complete removal of military influence in Japan. Instead, Japanese nationalism focused on industrial growth as the country rose to become a major economic force in the world.

Ultranationalism in Italy

Ultranationalism in Italy—as in Japan and Germany—had deep historical roots and many contributing factors. Italy gained national unity between 1859 and 1870. To complete this unification, the government sought to unite all those of Italian ethnicity within a natural border through a policy called *irredentism*. In addition, those nationalities that were willing to become Italian were also encouraged to join. In fact, one of the main reasons Italy joined the First World War on the side of the Triple Entente was its desire to acquire Italian territories it perceived as being under foreign rule. The subsequent victory of the Triple Entente resulted in Italy acquiring some of the new land it claimed, but not all. On the Dalmatian coast, only the city of Zaro and a few islands were given to Italy, despite its claim to the entire region.

Italy did not emerge from the First World War unscathed. The country was burdened with high inflation, a huge debt, and high unemployment. Although its expenditures were three times greater than its revenues, the government refused to make changes such as higher taxes for the wealthy. There was a growing feeling that the old world order was collapsing and a new order was necessary.

Growing Italian feelings of patriotism encouraged newspaper journalist Benito Mussolini to establish a political party, commonly referred to as the *Fasci*, that initially adopted a socialist platform of democratic reform and workers' rights. However, during the 1919 elections, the party won little support. Instead, the Socialist Party of Italy gained widespread support, striking fear in the government and business elites, who worried a socialist victory would damage the weak postwar economy. The Fasci saw an opportunity to gain widespread support by attacking socialists. Mussolini gained respectability when he was asked to be a member of the ruling government coalition.

Emboldened by his rise to power, Mussolini planned a fascist uprising in 1922 to take control of the government by force. The uprising never took place, but the prime minister and his government resigned as a result of this threat. The king then asked Mussolini to form a government in October 1922. Nationalist feelings grew as Mussolini orchestrated the capture of several Greek islands and encouraged irredentism among those living on the islands of Malta

Ideas and Opinions

In examining the rise of fascism in Italy, historian George Mosse illustrates how fascism was a combination of several ideologies that created a new one.

> *"What is needed is a spark that inflames the enthusiasm and will to serve the fatherland … That war [the First World War] made the greatest contribution to the formation and goals of the fascist man: the new Italian fascist man … is a crusader in the service of faith. That faith was a civic religion of nationalism, but even before the war, extreme nationalism had wanted to create a new man in order to fulfill their dreams for a new Italy …*
>
> *Italian nationalists from the turn of the century onward proclaimed a revolutionary nationalism that would depart from tradition … Nationalism was not supposed to fulfill its traditional function of making time stand still but, instead was meant to revolutionize Italy."*
>
> **—George Lachmann Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 156.**

Is fascism a form of ultranationalism? Why do you suppose fascism held a particular appeal for the youth of Italy?

and Corsica. Mussolini began referring to the Mediterranean Sea as *mare nostrum*, or "our sea."

Through a series of new laws, the Fasci created a single-party state that abolished independent political parties and trade unions. They curbed the power of the press and silenced opposition. Mussolini embarked on establishing a state-controlled economy in which the interests of the state, corporations, and workers were harmonized. To a certain degree, the many state-initiated construction projects were successful in keeping the Italian economy strong, and Italy managed to avoid much of the economic turmoil that resulted from the Great Depression. People proudly announced that Mussolini had "made the trains run on time," a remarkable accomplishment in Italy. Mussolini also signed the Lateran Treaty with the Vatican, which weakened the Church's claim for lost land but gave the pope power over marriage and the family.

Mussolini united Italy and turned it into an economic and political power. He won the respect of other European countries for his opposition to Bolshevism, and Italy was heralded as an alternative to democratic capitalism and communism.

With growing economic power and political clout, Mussolini sought to create a greater Italian empire. When Italy invaded a poorly equipped Ethiopia in 1935, Mussolini was at the peak of his power. Despite condemnation by the League of Nations, Mussolini was defiant. He allied Italy with Nazi Germany, and Italy entered the Second World War in 1940. But the Italian army was no match for Allied forces, and it soon suffered humiliating defeats that caused Mussolini's popularity to quickly drop. Popular support for the Fasci and the war waned. In 1943, the king replaced Mussolini as prime minister, and Italy switched sides and joined the Allies.

Ultranationalism was able to thrive in Italy, as well as in Japan and Germany, due to several features common to the three countries. None of the countries had a strong tradition of democracy prior to the rise of ultranationalist parties. Ultranationalist parties relied on populist support while collaborating with the ruling elites, including powerful state officials, and military and business leaders. These countries all had charismatic leaders who presented a new era of economic growth for the people and restored their countries to a powerful status. These groups believed that post-First World War economic problems could be solved only by militarism, expansion, and conquest. Renewed military strength was important for overcoming a sense of humiliation on the international stage, and their ultranationalism was fuelled by a short-sighted pursuit of national interests by other nations.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How did nationalism influence the pursuit of Italian national interests under Mussolini?

Explore the Issues

1. Review the nationalism encouraged by Mussolini, Hitler, and the leaders of Japan in their respective countries. To what extent did ultranationalism in Germany, Italy, and Japan cause the Second World War?
2. Compare and contrast the actions of the countries involved in the Second World War. Which countries acted in a nationalist way, and which in an ultranationalist way? Justify your answers.
3. In times of conflict in these three countries, to what extent are nationalism and ultranationalism responses to the pursuit of national interests?

Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter you examined how and why nationalism can develop and grow into ultranationalism. When nations pursue their national interests at the expense of other nations, conflict often ensues, and conflict between nations often fuels a rise in ultranationalism.

Respond to Ideas

1. Is ultranationalism a common element of conflict? Choose a contemporary example of conflict and examine if any or all of the nations involved are acting in an ultranationalist way. Justify your answer with examples.

Respond to Issues

2. Are governments ever justified in acting in an ultranationalist way? Justify your answer. Select an example from this chapter or from your research in the previous question as a basis for your argument.

Recognize Relationships between Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

3. When does nationalism lead to ultranationalism? Explain.